

# **MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS**

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## **REGULATING THE INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM AND OVERSIGHT IN THE HUNGARIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY**

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**Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-June 2003**

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As Hungary made its transition to democracy, it had to overhaul its political, economic, and defense system. The shift to a democratic form of government and free enterprise economy depends on a military that is firmly under civilian authority. Within the defense sector, the endurance of such a new democracy requires reforming its intelligence system. Hungary must choose the intelligence system that best serves its goals and needs. Despite the relatively strong success in implementing a democratic system, market economy, and civilian control of the military since 1989, the transformation of its intelligence agencies is incomplete. The intelligence organizations holds fast to the old concept of an oversized, hyper bureaucratic intelligence system, and still lack appropriate, Western-type civil control and oversight. The system itself has been changing but not at an adequate speed and to some extent, it has kept the baggage of its past. Recent international terrorism also presents an opportunity to examine the Hungarian intelligence system and how it is structured, evaluating it for deficiencies and further developing what is working in the Hungarian security services. This analysis describes various other national intelligence organizations, examines intelligence oversight in the Hungarian constitutional democracy, and presents recommendations for possible guidelines for a new Hungarian intelligence system.

**KEYWORDS:** Hungarian National Security, Intelligence, Democratic Control Over the Intelligence, Civilian Oversight, Hungarian Secret Services, Regulating the Hungarian Intelligence Structure

## **THE RISE AND THE FALL OF TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS IN POST-DICTATORIAL GREECE: THE ROLE AND THE LESSONS FOR THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES**

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The Greek government unsuccessfully battled leftist terrorist groups from 1975 to 2002. The two most notorious terrorist organizations during this period were the “November 17” group and another group called the “Revolutionary People’s Struggle.” In 1975, these organizations began a violent campaign against the United States, NATO personnel, Turkish diplomats, and members of the Greek political and business elite.

The government’s failure to curtail these groups resulted from the erroneous belief that these terrorists were not a direct threat to Greek’s democracy. Fortunately, in June of 2002, with numerous arrests, Greek authorities made substantial progress and apprehended the leaders of the “November 17.”

This thesis examines the nature and the effects of terrorism by focusing on the ideology and activities of these two specific terrorist groups. This thesis also identifies and analyzes the origins of these organizations, reveals how the terrorist situation was created, and examines the causes that led to the inception of these terrorist organizations.

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Additionally, this thesis interprets the role of the intelligence services in Greece before and after the demise of the Greek military dictatorship in 1974. It also explores how the intelligence community, under the watchful eye of Greece's political leadership, helped dislodge these terrorist organizations and helped protect and consolidate the fledgling democracy.

**KEYWORDS:** Terrorist Organizations, Intelligence Services, Greece

## **A SOLUTION TO MOLDOVA'S TRANSDNIESTRIAN CONFLICT: REGIONAL COMPLEX INTERDEPENDENCE**

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Today, political scientists working with international organizations seek to resolve internal conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cyprus, and Kashmir. To solve such crises, political scientists have mostly tried to apply domestic comparative political approaches. These techniques emphasize agreements among internal actors and have not been successful in most cases. In the case of the Transdnistrian conflict in the Republic of Moldova, mediators have found it difficult to achieve internal agreement because external factors also have played a significant role during the conflict. Therefore, even if an internal agreement is achieved, it will remain fragile due to the vulnerable geographic location of the Republic of Moldova and to the limited state capacity to counter influential external actors. For the purpose of solving the Transdnistrian conflict in the long run, this thesis analyzes the possibility of creating regional complex interdependence around the Republic of Moldova, which would strengthen an internal agreement to resolve the conflict. Regional complex interdependence inter-connects the countries interested in the region around the Republic of Moldova: Romania, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine. This solution presumes external and internal interconnections based on the complex interdependence theory of neo-liberalism. The main potential drawback is that any asymmetrical dependencies in the initial stage of cooperation will imbalance the proposed complex interdependence, causing unilateral dependence (most likely on Russia) leading other actors to take countermeasures.

In fact, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, as a neutral party, has been a legal umbrella for mediation since all parties consider it an appropriate organization for the negotiations. Nevertheless, creating such an arrangement requires an initial role of the United States of America and the European Union to balance Russian influence until the region becomes interdependent. At that moment, the continuation of the Transdnistrian conflict will become irrelevant because the pre-conditions for conflict will be eliminated.

**KEYWORDS:** Conflict, Bessarabia, Moldova, Moldavia, Post-Soviet, Transdnistria, Dniestr, Soviet Union, Russia, Romania, Ukraine, OSCE, GUUAM, CIS, International Relations Theory, Realism, Neo-liberalism, Constructivism, Complex Interdependency Theory

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## **THE ROLE OF THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE PROGRAM AND THE STATE PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM IN THE PROCESS OF NATO ENLARGEMENT: THE CASE OF THE HUNGARIAN-OHIO COOPERATION**

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The end of the Cold War created new challenges and opportunities for European Security. The power vacuum that was left by the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact needed to be addressed quickly and pragmatically, to ensure the democratization of the former Eastern Block nations. Also, recent developments in World Security, such as increased Terrorism and Military Operations Other Than War, have forced NATO and other Transatlantic Security Institutions to adapt to a new way of thinking, operating and cooperating. This thesis identifies how NATO, the National Guard State Partnership Program and other Transatlantic Security Institutions operate in this new and challenging environment to aid these nascent democracies in the transition process. This thesis focuses on Hungary's successful experience of obtaining NATO membership via the Partnership for Peace Programme and State Partnership Program as a case-study.

**KEYWORDS:** Transatlantic Security, Partnership for Peace Programme, National Guard State Partnership Program, Hungarian National Security, NATO integration, Case of the Hungarian-Ohio Cooperation

## **U.S.-MEXICO MILITARY TO MILITARY COOPERATION REVISITED**

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This thesis presents the advantages of a revived program of military-to-military cooperation between the United States and Mexico. The benefits to be derived from such cooperation include an enhanced ability to fight drug trafficking from Mexico to the United States, reinforcement of Mexico's transition to democracy by helping the Mexican military distance itself from drug-related corruption and nudging it away from its authoritarian past towards tighter civilian control, and better support for civilian authorities in dealing with trans-border disasters and emergencies. To overcome past obstacles that scuttled previous attempts at cooperation, the National Guard of the border states is proposed as the U.S. military organization of choice for this assignment due to its strong tradition of support to civilian authorities, the cultural and societal ties of many of its servicemembers with the Mexican people, and the involvement of a military component unfettered by larger policy issues involving immigration, trade, and certification.

**KEYWORDS:** National Guard, Military-to-military Cooperation, Consolidating Democracy

